N°. 133

THE SENTIMENTS OF A TORY,

In Respect to a late

IMPORTANT TRANSACTION,

And in Regard to the

Present Situation of AFFAIRS.

LONDON:
Printed for T. COOPER, at the *Globe* in *Pater-Noster-Row*. 1741.

[Price One Shilling.]

46
1
5279

PREFACE.

THERE ſeems to be no Need of an Apology for handling a Subject already brought before the Tribunal of the Publick, and therefore it is not to the Publick but to the Tories *I addreſs this Preface, who may poſſibly think an Apology needleſs on another Account,* viz. *their Conduct having met with general Approbation.*

Yet if they conſider, that, notwithſtanding the Reaſonableneſs of their Behaviour, and the Teſtimonies they have received of the World's judging as they did, ſome Men have, notwithſtanding, had the Boldneſs to erect a Beam to weigh them in the Ballance, and to declare them wanting. I ſay, conſidering this, and the near Approach of a general Election, they can hardly judge ſuch a Vindication either needleſs or improper; or, if they do, it muſt be out of that Contempt for Calumny which has ſo often coſt them dear, and which they ought therefore no longer to affect. The Character of a Party, as well as that of a private Man, is ſo tender, eſpecially at this Juncture, that too much Care cannot be taken of it, eſpecially when thoſe who compoſe it are abſolutely in the Right.

In the Examination of ſo nice and delicate a Point, I can ſafely ſay, that I am not conſcious of having ſhown a Zeal for any Thing ſave Truth, and the Tory *Principle. I have endeavoured to vindicate both, and to ſet them in the faireſt Point of Light; but, in order to this, I have not made Uſe of the common Artifice, of throwing other Peoples Characters into Shade. It is the great Foible of our preſent political Writers, that they diſcover but little Concern for Facts and Evidence, while they are paſſionately fond of inſiſting on ſuch Topicks as ſerve only to ſpread perſonal Prejudice; and I cannot help ſaying, that while this Conduct is purſued, it is not likely we ſhould get out of thoſe Difficulties into which this pernicious Practice originally plunged us. We may certainly ſtifle Heats and Animoſities, tho' we may not be able to eradicate Diſtinctions. Nothing is more certain, than that the honeſt Men of all Parties mean their Country well, though they may differ about the Means of ſerving it; but, at the ſame Time, if theſe Differences riſe ſo high as to take away all Regard to Juſtice and Decency, it is evident, that however private Men may ſerve themſelves, the Publick will run the Hazard of not being ſerved at all. A Propoſition, which, whoever will grant, let him be of what Party he will, he cannot be diſpleaſed with the following Pages.*

THE

THE SENTIMENTS OF A TORY, &c.

WHEN private Men have any particular Purpoſes to carry in Virtue of Pretences to ſerve the Publick, they have always Recourſe to plauſible Diſcourſes, and pretend to act from Principles widely different from their real Motives. This ſeems to have given Birth to the modern Doctrine of aboliſhing, or, which is the ſame Thing, uniting all Parties; a Kind of Methodiſm in Politicks, whereby a Pretence is made to a higher Degree of State-Purity, than can be reaſonably expected amongſt *Engliſhmen*.

That

That it would be really a very happy Thing, if there were no Parties, no Diſtinctions, no Separation of Intereſts among us, is, I preſume, what no Man in his Wits would diſpute; but that ever we ſhall be in this State, that Patriotiſm ſhall perform more than Religion ever could, that is, make us all of one Mind, is, I likewiſe preſume, what no Man in his Senſes will believe. In ſhort, in my Judgment, a Coalition of Parties is as chimerical a Notion, as the Kingdom of Saints, or the fifth Monarchy.

It was originally broached by the *Shaftſbury* of the preſent Age, a Man, to be ſure, well verſed in the Hiſtory and Intereſt of Parties, ſince, in the Courſe of his Life, he has been of all, and, I believe I may ſay, at the Head of all the capital Parties in theſe Kingdoms, I mean *Whigs*, *Tories*, and *Jacobites*, and therefore no Man fitter to form this Project of a Coalition, which was, in ſhort, a Project for the putting himſelf at the Head of them again all at once. I do not ſay this out of any Picque to this refined Stateſman, but I ſay it out of Regard to Truth, out of Reſpect to my Country, and for the Sake of that Body of Men with whom I always have, and, I believe, always ſhall, concur.

The Reaſon why he propoſed this extraordinary Scheme, and took ſo much Pains

to

to reduce his Notions in Politicks into a Syſtem grounded thereon, was plainly this, that the Bulk of thoſe who were to form the Party he was to uſe, might not perceive how ſmall the Number of thoſe Men were, who, in caſe of Succeſs, were to reap the Benefit of their Labours. For this End, the Project was very ingeniouſly contrived, and if it's Author will be content with a reaſonable Share of Applauſe, it cannot be denied him, on Account of the Addreſs, and even Succeſs, with which, for a long Time, he managed it. But if he, or any of his Diſciples, are ſo ſanguine as to imagine, that a certain Body of Men, who have always diſtinguiſhed themſelves by a ſteady Adherence to Church and Crown, were the Dupes of this chimerical Notion, and reſolved to maintain it at the Expence of their old eſtabliſhed Principles, they are miſtaken, groſsly miſtaken; for theſe Men are alike incapable of being awed by Men in Power, or of being wrought upon to do unreaſonable Things in order to ſerve ſuch of their Friends as aim at Power.

Since it is impoſſible for us to make Mankind what we would have them, the wiſeſt Thing we can do is to take them as they are. Inſtead therefore of pretending to extirpate Parties, a Work that no *Hercules* in Policy will ever be able to perform, let us be content to expect that each Party ſhould act upon

upon it's avowed Principles, and, perhaps, this may conduct us to the ſame or to a better End. *Tory* and *Whig* are Terms that have now a ſettled Meaning, and the moderate Men of both Parties, I mean ſuch as conſult their Reaſon and the Conſtitution, will always acquieſce in ſuch Meaſures as have an evident Tendency to the publick Good. As for the Zealots on both Sides they may attempt unreaſonable Things, and ſhew their good Will to reduce us to Extremities, but they will never be able to effect their fooliſh Purpoſes, or embroil the Nation, as it has been heretofore embroiled, by the Madneſs of both Parties.

In the Caſe of the pretended Coalition, a Spirit of Diſſimulation muſt reign throughout all Parties, which could not long anſwer the Purpoſes of any, and muſt, by Degrees, diſguſt all. There is ſomething extremely odd, to ſay nothing more harſh, in ſeeing a Man, who for twenty or thirty Years has profeſſed himſelf a *Tory*, harranguing in a publick Aſſembly on *Whig* Principles, and urging, with the greateſt Vehemency, what himſelf had as vehemently heretofore oppoſed and condemned. It muſt appear as whimſical for one known to be a thorough *Whig*, to perſonate a Character I ſhall not mention, and to throw out ſuch Inſinuations as cannot, in Reaſon, be ſuppoſed to give his Foes

any

any true Umbrage, or to give any real Satisfaction to ſuch as, for a Time, he thinks fit to call his Friends. This acting in Maſquerade is ſo uneaſy, I had like to have ſaid ſo unnatural, to Men of Senſe and Spirit, that they cannot perſiſt in it long, and therefore one would think it by no Means adviſable that they ſhould be put upon playing theſe Parts at all.

While People profeſs their real Principles, while *Tories* act like *Tories*, and *Whigs* like *Whigs*, we know what we are doing, and we know the Iſſue of our Doings; but when once it comes to be laid down for a Maxim, that on certain Occaſions Men are to forego their own Sentiments in publick Affairs, in order to carry favourite Points, why then this is a direct Declaration for illegal Influence, and it ſignifies not a Straw as to the Rectitude of the Meaſure, whether it be for or againſt a Court. At leaſt, this is my Judgment, and the Judgment of many of my Acquaintance.

The *Tories* have been very unjuſtly charged by their Enemies with being Bigots in reſpect to Religion, and Slaves in reſpect to their political Principles, whereas they are extremely free in their Opinions with reſpect to both. They are warm Friends to the eſtabliſhed Church, not becauſe it is eſtabliſhed, but becauſe they look upon it to be

the beſt conſtituted Church upon Earth. For the ſame Reaſon, they are zealous for the good old *Engliſh* Conſtitution, which their Reaſon tells them hath aſſigned a proper Proportion of Power to the Crown, the Nobles, and the People. But though from theſe Motives they are inviolably attached to the Settlement in Church and State, yet they are far from ſuppoſing that either Churchmen or Stateſmen are infallible, or that there is any Impiety in proſecuting a profligate Prieſt, or Diſloyalty in oppoſing the pernicious Deſigns of an ambitious Stateſman. In ſhort, they are for the Church, that they may ſecure Peace hereafter, and for the Conſtitution that they may enjoy it here. Such are the true Principles of the *Tories*, and ſuch as own any other Principles are no *Tories*.

Men of theſe Principles have been generally ſpeaking the Majority in this Nation, and have appeared ſo, whenever they have had Senſe enough to remain fixed to their Principles, and firm to each other. They were undoubtedly the greater and the better Part of the People in 1641. In order to be convinced of this, we need only peruſe the Liſt of the Lords and Commons who repaired to the King at *Oxford*, in the firſt Year of the War. How they came afterwards to be divided, and, in Conſequence thereof, to be deſtroyed, and to be ſubjected by a handful

of

of their fellow Subjects, is viſible enough to all who are well acquainted with the Hiſtory of thoſe Times. After the Conſtitution was reſtored in the Year 1660, they became apparently the Majority again, and continued ſo during all the Time the long, or as ſome, tho' in my Opinion not very juſtly, call it the Penſion-Parliament, remained in being. That Parliament, which acted agreeable to the Conſtitution, expreſſed it's Duty to the King with great Chearfulneſs, and it's Devotion to the publick Intereſt by Acts of legal Reſentment. It is true, that Parliament erred in ſome Things, and was, perhaps, rotten in ſome of it's Members, but it was ſound at Heart, and therefore when the King plunged into corrupt Meaſures, he parted with it, and lived to repent it. In 1688, the *Tories* concurred in bringing about the Revolution, eminently concurred, and therefore they have as juſt a Right to the Fruits of it as any other Set of Men in *Britain*, whatever ſome may pretend to the contrary.

As to the conſtant Courſe of their Conduct before and ſince that great Period, I do not pretend wholly to juſtify, any more than I think it reaſonable wholly to condemn it. The *Tories*, like all other Parties, were, in ſo long a Tract of Time, often divided, and ſometimes miſtaken; but in great Points, and where they had ſufficient Evidence to

guide them, they were commonly in the Right. In the Courſe of the Civil War, the *Tories* (for ſuch the wiſer Cavaliers were) did their utmoſt to ſupport the Crown, but by no Means inclined to make an abſolute Conqueſt of their fellow Subjects; and though they were then ruined by their Principles, yet their Country recovered it's Conſtitution at the Reſtauration. In the Days of King *Charles* II, they were for limiting a *Popiſh* Succeſſion, though out of Tenderneſs to the Rights of the Crown, they were againſt an Excluſion. But when King *James* had done all that his Enemies ſuggeſted he would do, they chearfully concurred in expelling him; but in doing this they took Care not to hurt the Conſtitution, which, in their Judgment, is preciſely the ſame now, that it was then, the Difference of Families excepted.

As to the Behaviour of the *Tories* of late Years, there want not many to cenſure it as abſurd and extravagant, but then they do it without the leaſt Conſideration of their Principles. They will have the *Tories* to act wrong, when they do not act according to their Liking, whereas, in Truth, they can only be ſaid to act wrong as a Party, when they act in a Manner inconſiſtent with their own Principles. This is the plain Reaſon why ſuch an Outcry has been lately made, as to their Manner of acting. It is an Out-

cry

cry againſt *Tories* upon a *Whig* Principle, or rather upon the Principle of bigotted *Whigs*, and conſequently it is an Outcry very ill founded. *Whigs* and *Tories* may go along together in the ſame Meaſures, each upon their own Motives, and they may, as they ought, to eſteem one another, while they act in this Manner; but when, upon ſome particular Point, they divide, in purſuance of their Principles, it is Madneſs in either Party to exclaim againſt the other, becauſe the thing is natural, ſo natural, that nothing could have hindered it's happening, but one Party's acting like Knaves or like Fools.

This, without Paſſion or Prejudice, I ſhall endeavour to make plain, in order to wipe off a Scandal, which great Pains has been taken to faſten on a very worthy Set of Men, for acting according to the Dictates of their Conſciences, in diſcharge of the Truſt repoſed in them by their fellow Subjects, and in Support of the Laws and Conſtitution of their Country, which, in their Judgments, and ſure in the Judgments of all honeſt Men, ought never to be poſtponed or to give Way.

But previous to this I muſt obſerve, that all I have to offer is purely defenſive, and that I no more pretend to condemn other People, than to ſubſcribe to their Cenſure of thoſe I think in the Right. This

the

the Nature of the Diſpute, the Liberty of the preſent Times, and ſome Pieces lately publiſhed, ſeem to make both neceſſary and juſt. For ſure when Miniſters, when Kings, when Parliaments, are treated with ſo little Ceremony by ſuch as expect we ſhould think them Patriots, it can be no Crime to ſpeak one's Sentiments freely, and to profeſs one's Opinion, that other Folks may be Patriots too. For we know that Men may differ amongſt themſelves, and yet be none of them in the Wrong, provided they all make the beſt Enquiries they can, and act as their Reaſon directs in Conſequence of ſuch Enquiries. It is neceſſary to ſay thus much to prevent Miſapprehenſion or Miſconſtruction, in an Age wherein People are but too apt to condemn before they conſider, and to publiſh their Sentence as ſoon as they have paſt it.

In order to proceed as regularly as poſſible, I ſhall obſerve, that the only Evidence that has been offered in ſupport of this extraordinary Charge, againſt a certain Set of Men, as if they were Deſerters of the Common Cauſe, and People, who acted contrary to their Principles, is their not going along in a certain Meaſure with a Set of Gentlemen, with whom, in many other Things, they have heartily concurred. For my own part, I muſt confeſs, this looks to me like confounding the Charge and the Proof; for unleſs it could

be

be demonſtrated, that theſe Gentlemen are infallible, it is not very clear to me, that leaving them is any more a Crime, than joining them a Virtue. Indeed the Matter is ſomewhat helped by ſaying, that the Reaſons which led them to concur in other Caſes, ought to have had the ſame Effect in this: And ſtill this is no better than begging the Queſtion; for if they were free to examine thoſe Reaſons in other Caſes, and honeſt enough to make a right Application of them, I cannot, for my part, ſee what Ground there is for cenſuring the Step they have now taken, unleſs they were charged with Corruption, which, I believe, even by thoſe who accuſe them, was never ſuſpected. But, it may be, they were deceived or infatuated. Yet even this has never been cleared up. I have, indeed, read a little Treatiſe tending this Way, and have heard many Diſcourſes of this Sort, but never any that perſwaded me, or that, in my Judgment, could perſwade any Man, who would allow himſelf to think freely, and to examine Things cloſely. However, I ſhall give all theſe Arguments their due Weight, in the ſubſequent Part of my Diſcourſe, having no Deſire to perplex or obſcure, but rather to come at and manifeſt, the Truth, without Fear or Favour, and without any Byaſs either from Prejudice or Affection.

In

In the firſt Place it is ſaid, that it is not reconcileable to Reaſon, for Men to ſcruple any Sort of Cenſure on the Author of Meaſures, which they have declared to be Wrong. The *Tories*, ſay their Accuſers, have voted for many Years againſt the keeping up ſo large a Number of regular Troops, againſt the Payment of large Sums abroad for the Hire of foreign Forces, againſt many Articles of the Expences of the Government at home, againſt the Exciſe-Scheme, againſt ſeveral Penal Laws, againſt ſeveral Steps taken in reſpect to foreign Affairs, particularly againſt the Convention, and many other Things. After all this, ſay they, what Reaſon, what Argument can be offered, why they ſhould not have concurred, to their utmoſt, in procuring a Parliamentary Cenſure of a Perſon, who promoted all theſe Meaſures, who ſpoke for them, who voted for them, and who laboured all he could to procure them thoſe Sanctions from the Legiſlature, which were neceſſary to carry them into Execution?

Thoſe who talk in this Stile do not ſeem to conſider what, at other Times, they have advanced with great Boldneſs, and maintained with the greateſt Warmth, *viz.* that a Spirit of Oppoſition is agreeable and even eſſential to our Conſtitution. This, I muſt own, is a Doctrine which ſometimes, I think, has

has been carried too far; and yet while it is taken in a modeſt and moderate Senſe, I confeſs, I think it true. There ought to be, eſpecially in Parliament, a Spirit of Enquiry; or, if you will, a Spirit of Jealouſy. Power is a dangerous and intoxicating Thing, and thoſe who are poſſeſſed of it are but too apt to carry it a little farther than they ought, let them be of what Party they will. For this Reaſon there hath been, and, I hope, there always will be, a Party willing to inſpect the Actions, and ready to controul the Councils, of every Adminiſtration. But this is far from doing any Hurt to the People in general, to the Parliament in particular, or to the Adminiſtration itſelf, which it oppoſes. On the contrary, it does good to all, it encourages the People not to ſubmit tamely to any Grievances, it keeps up that Life and Freedom which ought to appear in Parliamentary Debates, and it ſerves to reſtrain Men in Power from the vain Imagination, that either they may do what they will, or that it is in their Power. Beſides, it procures the Examination of whatever Points are propoſed, it creates Circumſpection in all who have any Thing to do with publick Affairs, it excites, by Controverſy, the Delivery of various Councils, whereby Miniſters often reap great Advantages, even from thoſe who mean them no Good. From all this it

follows, that Men of the ſtricteſt Honour, Men of the greateſt Loyalty to their Prince, Men who have the utmoſt Zeal for the Conſtitution, may engage in ſuch an Oppoſition with a View only of coming at Truth, of ſerving their Conſtituents as they ought, and of promoting the true Intereſt of their Country, without any ſelfiſh Views of Profit, or perſonal Prejudices againſt thoſe whom they oppoſe.

One muſt eaſily perceive, that the Burthen of rendering this good Office to the State, muſt naturally fall upon ſuch as have no Share in the Adminiſtration, or, at leaſt, chiefly upon them. Becauſe, having leſs Knowledge of the Springs of Action, they are the more ready to entertain Jealouſies, even of juſt and reaſonable Meaſures; which however begets no Inconvenience, ſince, from their being oppoſed and examined, they come to appear juſt and reaſonable, which otherwiſe they would not have been ſo thoroughly known to be. Becauſe ſuch as have no Connection with the Adminiſtration, have leſs Opportunities of knowing their Capacities and Zeal for the publick Service, and, conſequently, are by no means inclined to take any Thing they offer upon Truſt; which, tho' it may be ſometimes inconvenient for them, yet is very rarely detrimental to the State. Becauſe ſuch independent Perſons are uſually applied

to

to by the People, and by ſuch as have, or think they have, as great Knowledge in Matters of publick Concern, as thoſe who manage them; of which Sort of Folks there will never be any Dearth in a free Nation.

Theſe Reaſons ſufficiently explain why the *Tories* have been ſo long and ſo generally in the Oppoſition; it is on Account of their having ſo ſeldom the Honour to be truſted with any Share of Power, and their having ſo generally the Honour to be confided in by their Countrymen. If, therefore, their Conduct in Parliament has been ſuch, as, by keeping up a juſt and moderate Oppoſition, they have maintained our Conſtitution in Health and Vigour, in what have they done amiſs? Or why, in the Name of God, do theſe Gentlemen riſe up their Accuſers? If they had ſometimes approved too haſtily of loading the People with Taxes, or reſtraining their Freedom by penal Laws; If they had ſupported certain Steps in Government, and then clamoured againſt their Conſequences; If they had violently decried one Scheme, dangerous to the Peoples Properties, and a little after as violently cried up another of the ſame Stamp, they might juſtly have been arraigned of Paſſion, Giddineſs, and Inconſiſtency. But conſidering that their Conduct has been exactly uniform, that they have never interpoſed, but where their Conſtituents

were nearly concerned, that they have not been afraid to expreſs their Sentiments very freely, from Principles of Affection to their Country, though others have unjuſtly imputed it to Affection for another Cauſe. If after long and ſolemn Debates, they have voted according to the Dictates of their Conſcience, why ought they not to be eſteemed Perſons of Candour, Courage, and Conſtancy, and if a Man may venture to ſay it in Favour of *Tories*, why ſhould they not be thought Patriots? Are there any Set of Men in the Kingdom, who can bring better Teſtimonials than theſe?

But if this Conduct of theirs ſhould entitle them to the Character of Patriots, I cannot, for the Soul of me, ſee why it ſhould render them Perſecutors. Put the Caſe as their Accuſers would put it, that they have generally differed from another Set of Men in their Notions of publick Affairs, does it follow that they ought to eſteem thoſe Men Enemies to their Country? Is this conſiſtent with that Temper and Moderation, which ought to be preſerved by thoſe who make it a Rule with them, to oppoſe the Adminiſtration for the Sake of Truth and of their Country? Inſtead of a Spirit of Oppoſition, would not this be a Spirit of Rancour and Fury? Do not Gentlemen bear but very impatiently, the Inſults they receive from any Tools of Power,

Power, on Account of exerting that Liberty of Speech, to which they have a Right by the Conſtitution? And ſhall they, while they think this Warmth of their's juſt, expreſs a greater Spirit of Reſentment, on as ſlender a Foundation? May not Men differ about the Means of ſerving their Country, and neither Side be Traitors? Nay, does not this extraordinary Concern demonſtrate, that neither Side are Traitors, for whence comes it but from Zeal to their Country? Theſe are fair and natural Queſtions, ſuch as every candid and well-meaning Man muſt anſwer in the Affirmative.

If their Reaſoning was to prevail, Cenſures and Impeachments would be the Buſineſs of every new Parliament, and then where would be the Liberty of ſpeaking? the Minority, in this Caſe, would be always ſafe; thoſe in Power, and thoſe who were in the ſame Sentiments with Men in Power, would be alone liable to Clamour, and ſolely ſubject to Puniſhment. And for what? why for acting according to their own Sentiments, for acting according to the Cuſtom and Uſage of Parliament. Did we ever want a Majority and a Minority in the Houſe of Commons, or did there ever want warm Men on both Sides, who pretended to aſſign baſe Reaſons for other Peoples Behaviour? But was this ever thought juſtifiable, was it ever thought tolerable

tolerable, why ſhould it now change it's Nature, and all of a ſudden become Evidence? It is poſſible to aſſign the Time, when it became juſt to cenſure the Proceedings of a certain Perſon? Shall we aſſign the Convention, ſhall we aſſign the Exciſe-Scheme? If we do, ſome Gentlemen muſt be included who now paſs for Patriots, and if they were miſled by Appearances, if they were innocently drawn to concur in thoſe Meaſures, by what Criterion do we diſtinguiſh? Might not another Perſon be as innocent as they? If a Man acts according to the beſt of his Judgment, in the Service of his Country in Parliament, for my own part, I confeſs, I ſee no Ground for inflicting a Parliamentary Cenſure, becauſe if this were once done, no Miniſter, nay, in Truth, no Member, would be ſafe. I ſhall have Occaſion to ſet this in a clearer Light hereafter, and therefore I ſhall ſay no more of it at preſent.

That the *Tories* have neither courted, nor ſtood in Awe of, the Adminiſtration for many Years paſt, even thoſe who are of late ſo angry with them, unanimouſly admit, for upon their Oppoſition they ground this Accuſation. This then being the Caſe, why ſhould they imagine that they were governed, on this Occaſion, by any other Motive, than that which always governs them, their Concern for their Country's Intereſt? or why

ſhould

ſhould it be thought more unreaſonable for them to diſſent, for once, from Gentlemen, with whom they have long concurred, than to diſſent very often from Gentlemen, with whom they have ſat much longer? Is not the great, nay, is not the ſole Argument, which is alledged againſt the Majority, as a Proof of their being under ſome Influence, their being always of one Mind, and ſhall it be urged as a Thing criminal againſt other Gentlemen, that after free and fair Debates they were not all of one Mind; ſure this is an odd Way of arguing, and ſuch as, in the Opinion of any judicious and impartial Perſon, can never be thought concluſive.

But the great Point in Debate is, how far theſe People might be governed by Principle; and therefore my Buſineſs is to ſhew, that ſuch of the *Tories* as have been accuſed, acted exactly conformable to their Principles; which, if I can do, they ought ſurely to be acquitted. It is neceſſary here, however, to take Notice of the Difference between a Party and a Faction, for want of attending to which many People, and even ſome political Writers, have run into great Miſtakes. A Party is the ſame Thing, with reſpect to Civil Affairs, as a Sect with Regard to Religion, they act from the Dictates of their Conſcience; and conformable to a certain Syſtem of Opinions, which they take to be right. A Faction again,

again, is a Body of Men acting upon no Principles, but from a ſelfiſh Scheme of Intereſt, which allows them to go any Length with any Party, provided they may thereby ſerve themſelves. For Example, thoſe who oppoſed the Court in 1641 were a Party, but thoſe who, leaving the Houſe of Commons, fled to the Army, and afterwards ſitting under an armed Force, in order to give, as far as they were able, the Colour of Law to the moſt illegal Acts, theſe, I ſay, were a Faction.

Though the Grounds of a late Motion have been, as Occaſion ſerved, or rather directed, branched out into a Multitude of Charges, each heightened by all the Arts of ingenious Eloquence, yet after all it has been owned, even by the moſt ſanguine Advocates for this Parliamentary Proſecution, that it might very well be reduced under theſe two Heads, *viz.* the aſſuming the Office of Prime Miniſter, and the acting therein ſo as to warrant an accumulative Charge. Each of theſe Heads I ſhall examine upon *Tory* Principles, and ſhall clearly ſhew, that, without deſerting thoſe Principles, Gentlemen of that Party could not poſſibly be for ſuch a Meaſure; and conſequently that there is not the ſlighteſt Colour to ſuppoſe their diſſenting from, and oppoſing it, flowed from any other Cauſe than that of Attachment to the Conſtitution

of

of their Country, in the Light it has been always conſidered by them.

Firſt then, as to the Notion, that a Perſon's being ſingularly favoured by his Sovereign, and honoured with particular Confidence in reſpect to his Councils, carries in it ſomething criminal; it does not appear that this is at all contrary to any Law, or even to the antient Uſage of this Kingdom; neither, on Recourſe had to Hiſtory, will it appear, that the Miſchiefs which this Nation has ſuffered from ſome great Miniſters, have outweighed the Benefits which it hath received from others. Our Glory, Liberty, and Trade, are chiefly owing to the Wiſdom and Integrity of the three great Miniſters, *Burleigh*, *Clarendon*, and *Godolphin*, and therefore it looks a little ſtrange to talk of puniſhing a Man merely for ſtanding in their Place. Indeed, as this Notion has been ſtated by ſome Writers, as the Miniſter has been repreſented, as a Viſier, a Vice-gerent, an Atlas, and Nobody knows what, his very Office might appear criminal in the Eyes of the People; but when it is conſidered, that in Truth, he deſerves none of theſe Attributes; and that he is dreſſed out in thoſe Robes by his Enemies, not by his Maſter; it cannot be expected that ſuch as preſerve their Senſes, and a due Reſpect to their Character, ſhould ſwallow ſo crude an Accuſation; eſpecially

when they reflect, that the *Tories* of former Times always thought a principal Minister of as great Consequence to the State, as to his Master; and were wont to attribute Miscarriages, in publick Affairs, not to the Choice, but to the wrong Choice of such a Minister.

In order to shew the Truth of this, and that it was really the Opinion of Men, who wished well to their King and Country in past Times, that there should be some Director in the Management of the King's Business, I shall produce some Reflections on the Fall of the Earl of *Clarendon*, drawn from the Letters of the Duke of *Ormond*, and other Persons of Honour in those Days, who were distinguished not only by their Loyalty to their Prince, but also by their Zeal for the Publick, and who were as little inclined to arbitrary Government, much less to a slavish Dependance on a fellow Subject, as any of our modern Patriots whatever.

'King *Charles* II suffered much less Prejudice in his Affairs from his personal 'Failings, than from one Mistake in his political Conduct. Whether his Restauration 'being brought about by a Concurrence of 'Persons of different Parties, he had a Mind 'to please them all, or thought that a Ballance of Parties was an useful Method and

'Instrument

'Inſtrument of Government, or, at leaſt, a 'proper Means to obtain ſome things which 'he had at Heart, his Council was compo-'ſed of Men who had different Views and 'Intereſts, not only in what concerned them-'ſelves, but in what regarded the Publick. 'Their Principles, both as to Church and 'State, were contradictory to one another; 'and not having one uniform End in pub-'lick Affairs to purſue, they never agreed in 'their Meaſures; a Diſcord much more per-'nicious than thoſe Jars which ariſe from a 'Diſpute, who ſhall beſt ſerve their Prince, 'or who ſhall ſerve him in the higheſt Sta-'tion, which will ever be found in all Courts. 'Hence it came that there was no Concert 'for the carrying of any Point for the pub-'lick Service; no Rule whereby thoſe who 'meant and wiſhed well to it, might be 'guided; no Director from whom they might 'derive Inſtructions for their Conduct, but 'every one ſaid and did what appeared right 'in his own Eyes, and all were left to the 'Accident of Wind and Tide, in a popular 'Aſſembly, to drive at Random. Hence 'aroſe that Diſunion, Irreſolution, Uncer-'tainty, and Uneaſineſs, which cauſed many 'to grow weary of attending the Service of 'the Houſe, and threw others into thoſe 'Diſtractions and Confuſions, which being 'improved by a ſmall Number of diſaffected

'Perſons, raiſed a Spirit not unlike that 'which reigned in 1641, and produced ſuch 'violent Meaſures as threw all good Men 'into a violent Conſternation, and would 'have made thoſe who knew the Houſe beſt, 'expect the like Calamities, if they had not 'been ſatisfied that the Members loved the 'King, and the Conſtitution, better than the 'Faction did which prevailed in thoſe 'Days *."

If theſe Reaſonings be in any Degree right, as no competent Judge of our Hiſtory can deny they are; if theſe were the Sentiments of the moſt eminent *Tories*, who acted entirely on Principle, as undoubtedly they were. If there be any Likeneſs between our preſent Conſtitution, and the Conſtitution at that Time, as there evidently is; then it follows, that the modern *Tories* muſt, in this Reſpect, think as their Anceſtors did. That is, they muſt think that the King is at Liberty to make Uſe of the Councils of any Miniſter; and that a Miniſter is at Liberty to ſerve his Majeſty in any Manner not repugnant to the known Laws of the Land, or inconſiſtent with the Conſtitution; and if they ſhould think otherwiſe, it would be impoſſible for them to juſtify themſelves on *Tory* Principles.

To

* Life of the Duke of *Ormond*, Vol. II, *p.* 350, 351.

To infer from hence, that *Tories* are ſervilely or ſlaviſhly addicted to the Crown, would be a very falſe Conſequence; for, in Truth, they are the only People in this Kingdom who have extenſive Notions of Freedom, notwithſtanding all that has been ſaid to the contrary. Others are for giving vaſt Prerogatives to the Nobility, or to the People; and becauſe this cannot be done but by leſſening the Power of the Crown, they think and call themſelves Friends to Liberty. Such were the Notions of Lord *Hollis* and Colonel *Algernoon Sidney*, who would have made the Nobility Princes, and would have left the King their Superior only in Title; ſuch were the Schemes of *Milton* and *Harrington*, who would have veſted all Power in the People. But the *Tories*, following the Rule of the Conſtitution, are for allowing it's juſt Rights to the Crown, their legal Privileges to the Nobles, and that Liberty and Property which is their Birthright, to the People. They think, that ſince the executive Power is in the King by Law, he is at Liberty to act as he thinks proper, as to the Choice of Miniſters, and Uſe of their Councils; provided they are not contrary to the Laws, or are not evidently prejudicial to the Commonwealth.

They conſider that it is not the Crown, not the Adminiſtration alone, which is intereſted

tereſted in the ſmooth Conduct of the Government, but the People of *Great-Britain* in general; and, therefore, for their Sakes, they are willing to give it as few Checks, and as little Diſturbance, as they can. In Parliament, where Things are propoſed and debated, they ſpeak their Sentiments freely, ſupport them ſteadily, and act without any Reſpect to Perſons. But when this is done, they judge it both rational and expedient to purſue their private Notions no farther, but to act under conſtitutional Deciſions, as their Duty to the Laws of their Country require. They apprehend, that a Power of diſtreſſing any Miniſter, merely as ſuch, would have as bad Conſequences, with reſpect to the Publick, as if the Nation had no Power of puniſhing Miniſters, when it appeared on the cleareſt Evidence, that they had acted contrary to the Laws. Becauſe, in that Caſe, they conceive that no King could ever be ſecure, no Adminiſtration, however upright, have any proper Degree of Safety, much leſs of Weight or of Authority; which as it would tend to keep the Nation perpetually embroiled, and hinder it from receiving any of thoſe Benefits which naturally reſult from Peace and Unity, they believe, that their concurring thus far in ſupport of Power is not leſs for the Good of the Subject, than for the Honour of the Crown, which they readily own

are

are the two Points they have principally at Heart.

Thus much for the firſt Head. Now to the ſecond.

It is alledged, that if a Number of Facts, generally ſurmized to be true, be charged upon any Miniſter, it is reaſonable, that without any farther Evidence, a Parliamentary Cenſure ſhould be fixed upon him, and he thereby removed from the Adminiſtration, though none of theſe Facts are ſuch as would be criminal in the Eye of the Law; and this Propoſition is ſaid to be grounded in that Concern, which the Repreſentatives of the People ought always to have for the Intereſt of their Conſtituents, in preference to all other Intereſts whatſoever.

The *Tories*, on their Principles, have always been, and cannot but be, Enemies to accumulative Charges in general, and to all Charges whatſoever, which are not ſupported by legal Evidence; becauſe, in judging of publick Affairs, they admit of no other Rule than that of the Conſtitution. All Parties ſeem to agree with them in this, when the Crown is concerned; and they are not able to diſcern how either the Reaſon or the Lawfulneſs of the Meaſure comes to be altered, barely by the Meaſure's coming from any other Quarter. In their Judgment, all Parts of the Legiſlature are alike bound to the Maintenance

Maintenance of the Conſtitution, and to them it ſeems, that the countenancing any extraordinary, any diſpenſing Power, in one Branch, may be a very dangerous Precedent in reſpect to the other two, and this Doctrine, they think, is equally agreeable to Reaſon and Experience.

As to an accumulated Charge, they thought it had been for ever exploded by the Act for repealing the Attainder of the Earl of *Strafford*; in the Preamble of which it is declared to be expreſsly againſt Law; and therefore it is with Amazement that they hear ſome Men contend, not only for the Revival of this Doctrine, but for a Revival of that Precedent, a Precedent not only condemned by an Act of the Legiſlature, but even declared incapable of being made a Precedent, by thoſe who were concerned in bringing that noble Peer to the Block, againſt, and in deſpight of Law, though according to the Forms of it. The ſame Men did afterwards however purſue, notwithſtanding their Exception, the ſame Method of Proceeding in the Caſe of Archbiſhop *Laud*, on which Occaſion the utmoſt Skill was exerted to give this Notion ſome plauſible Colour. But after all that could be offered, one of the Sages of the Law effectually expoſed it, by this humorous Obſervation, *that if ſeveral leſſer Miſdemeanors, and ſome great ones, taken together, might*

might amount to High-Treaſon, then poſſibly three black Rabits, and two black Sheep, might make a black Horſe.——Nor is the Matter at all mended by ſaying, that ſeveral Arts, done with a criminal Intention, may, taken together, render a Man criminal.

Again, as to the Point of Evidence, it is ſimply impoſſible, on *Tory* Principles, to conceive, that any Branch of the Legiſlature can create a new Law of Evidence, and afford it a ſufficient Sanction to ſatisfy the Minds of thinking People, who are in Earneſt concerned for their Liberties, and afraid of ſeeing them violated by any Power, or on any Pretence whatſoever. They do admit, that Indictments or Impeachments may be founded on Facts of uncontroverted Notariety, but they think that this is no Way applicable to any Facts mentioned on a late Occaſion, becauſe none of theſe were notoriouſly true in any other Senſe than that of Opinion, and this is a Kind of Evidence that would ſcarce paſs in the Schools, much leſs elſewhere. Opinion is indeed a good Ground for Diſſent, but the worſt in the World for Accuſation; otherwiſe Men could never differ upon important Subjects without deſiring to injure or hurt each other, which is contrary to Reaſon, and the Good of Civil Society.

As to what has been ſaid, as to Parliamentary Sanctions, that they ought not to ſcreen any Minſter, this too falls ſhort of the Caſe. For when was it ever heard, that the Rectitude of a Meaſure, approved by Parliament, was queſtioned but by equal Authority? then, indeed, the Sanction is taken away, and Miniſters are anſwerable as much as if thoſe Approbations had never been. This was the Caſe of thoſe who were concerned in the Frauds of the *South-Sea*; they would have covered themſelves under ſuch Approbations, and had done it, if a ſubſequent Parliament had not uſed the neceſſary Means to prevent them. But was there any Thing like this done here? has there been any Parliamentary Deciſion, that the Facts mentioned in the Charge are Crimes? Nothing like it; the Intent of the Motion was to make a Criminal, and thence to infer, that his Deeds were Crimes. All the World knows how deep a Senſe the *Tories* had of the Treatment the late Earl of *Oxford* met with, and yet that fell ſhort of this; for the Meaſures he purſued were examined and cenſured before there were any Proceedings againſt him. In a Word, there never was any Thing more directly contrary to the Rules of Reaſon, and Uſage of Parliament, than this Step; and if the *Tories*, as a Party, had concurred in it, they

they would have acted in direct Oppoſition to all that their Predeceſſors had done for a hundred Years together. There muſt thence forward have been a true Coalition of Parties, or at leaſt theſe Men muſt have parted with their old Appellation —— they might poſſibly have remained Patriots. —— But they could never have become *Tories* again.

They are well aware of the Anſwer which is commonly given to theſe Objections, they know that it has been ſaid, and ſaid with great Confidence, both before and ſince a late Tranſaction, that it is in vain to expect Evidence, when that is ſolely in the Power of him whom it is to affect. This, though ſaid with an Air of Triumph, is ſo far from ſatisfying them that it ſeems only to introduce a new Difficulty. For this is as much a Fact as any other, and conſequently ſtands as much in need of Proof. But what if after all, the Evidence is not in his Power? What, if after all that could be done, it ſhould never be found; where are we to be then? It will be ſaid this is putting an improbable Caſe, but I ſay not, we have but too many Precedents of this Sorts, I will mention but a few.

The Party who ruined the Earl of *Clarendon* proceeded exactly in this Manner. They introduced a general Charge againſt

him in the Houſe of Commons, ſupported by *Orators* inſtead *Witneſſes:* Theſe alledged that he was a *Prime Miniſter*, a *Sole Miniſter*, the *Kings Preceptor*, and that he directed all Things abſolutely, even *Foreign Affairs* which he did not underſtand; that he promoted Arbitrary Power, that he behaved *ill* to the *Diſſenters*, that, in ſhort, he was the *Source* of all the *Miſchiefs* under which the Nation ſuffered. There were alſo ſome leſſer Articles about *Dunkirk*, building a *new Houſe*, and *Bribery* and *Corruption* in his *Office*, all which were affirmed to be of *publick Notariety*. Upon this he was impeached, and afterwards he thought fit to withdraw for this remarkable Reaſon, that though never any Man was more Innocent, yet he did not care to truſt his Life and Honour to ſuch a Number of Peers as his Enemies might have put into a Commiſſion for his Tryal, for that was the Method then, though we are delivered from it now. But before he went abroad, he drew up ſo clear an *Anſwer* to the general Charge againſt him, that the Houſe very prudently made but a ſhort *Reply*—— they ordered it to be *burnt* by the *Hands* of the *Hangman:* —— They then proceeded againſt him by Bill, without *any Evidence* whatſoever; and ſucceeding Times have been thoroughly ſatisfied that all thoſe *Facts*, which

were

were ſaid to be *notoriouſly true*, were *notoriouſly* true *falſe*; *falſe*, to the Knowledge of that *Faction* who baniſhed this great Miniſter, and thereby made Way for a mottly Train of *wicked* and *witty* Miniſters, who bubbled their *Maſter* with great Addreſs, and made a mighty Diſplay of their *quick Parts* in exciting *Diſturbances*, and ruling by *Parties*; which made the King *uneaſy* for *Life*, and in the End, proved the *Ruin* of his *Family* —— is there any thing inviting in this Precedent? —— Or is it at all wonderful that a *Deſcendant* of this *worthy Miniſter* ſhould diſtinguiſh himſelf by oppoſing a Scheme of the like Nature.

In the Caſe of the Earl of *Strafford*, in the preceeding Reign, there was yet a ſtronger Proof that Reſentment might influence Men knowingly, and with their Eyes open, to violate the Laws and Conſtitution of their Country. They had tried the Strength of their Evidence and their Eloquence by an Impeachment, both of which were baffled by the Earl's Innocence and ſuperiour Parts: After this they had Recourſe to an Attainder, grounded on ſuch weak ſuch wicked Principles, that they themſelves, who were not much given to bluſhing, could not help being aſhamed of it; they declared it Treaſon in him to have done what every Lieutenant, every

every Deputy of *Ireland* had done almoſt every Week of his Life. When they ſaw that the Majority of the Houſe deteſted theſe Proceedings, they had Recourſe to a Mob; they drew up Liſts of ſuch as had voted againſt the Bill, and having thus taught the Rabble whom to inſult, we need not wonder that to ſave their *own Lives*, the *Members* gave up *his*. All theſe Steps are exactly related in the Preamble of the Act paſſed for reverſing the Earl's Attainder, and ſtand there as ſo many *Beacons* to warn Poſterity of their Danger, in Caſe they ſhould ever take ſuch Steps again.

Ought we not then to be careful of miſtaking Evidence, ſupplying Evidence, or truſting for Evidence, after ſuch Inſtances as theſe? Beſides, if Men are ſure that Evidence is concealed, they muſt have ſome Evidence or other of this; why then do they not produce it? We know that there are a Multitude of Facts ſurmized and circulated amongſt the People, which, if proved, would have been much to the Purpoſe; why did we not hear of theſe in a proper Place? Was it not enough that, in this Manner of Proceeding, the ſame Men were to be both *Parties* and *Judges*, why then muſt they be made *Witneſſes* too; for ſo they muſt have been, if they had ſuffered their own Difference in Opinion to have

have paſſed with them for Evidence! Had this the Air of Juſtice! Had it the Aſpect of Equity, or Impartiality! Had it even the Colour of Reaſon, or the Face of Decency! Or had it not rather —— but I am defending only, not accuſing, and therefore I will not not ſay what it might have in the Eyes of others, but, ſurely, in the Eyes of *Tories*, who thought the Caſes of *Strafford*, *Clarendon*, *Oxford*, to be hard, extremely hard, this could not but appear in the ſame Light, and therefore it was impoſſible for them to act otherwiſe than they did; and thoſe who are offended with them for this, conſider only their own Prejudices, without weighing the Principles of others, or remembering that, with reſpect to the *Tories*, this is really no Struggle for Power, they are altogether diſintereſted, and are conſequently the more like to be impartial. They could have nothing in View but Juſtice, and therefore on whatever Side they ſaw her, there alſo they ranged themſelves.

There is yet another Thing ſaid, with reſpect to this ſtrange Affair, of which I would be glad not to take Notice, becauſe I can ſcarce think thoſe, who lay the greateſt Streſs upon it, are at all in Earneſt in what they ſay; but ſince they affect to be thought in Earneſt, there is a Neceſſity of ſpeaking to that,

that, as well as to the reſt of the Things they ſay. In few Words then it is alledged, that the *Tories* did not diſtinguiſh properly, for that the Thing intended was no Puniſhment, and therefore all their Notions, with reſpect to Evidence, were beſide the Queſtion. That Places and Preferments are Things to which Men have no Birthright, and that, in ſhort, concurring in a Deſire to remove a Miniſter, whoſe Meaſures we do not like, is a Duty we owe to the Crown, to the People, and to ourſelves, not any Mark of Picque, Prejudice, or perſonal Malice, againſt him, whom we deſire to be removed from the Royal Councils; amazing Diſcovery indeed!

That Places or Preferments are any Man's Birthright, is what, I believe, no *Tory* ever aſſerted; but that every Subject is born with an Ability of enjoying them, if the King pleaſes, is what no Man, acquainted with our Conſtitution, can deny; and, therefore, attempting to remove a Man from the King's Perſon and Councils *for ever*, was certainly an attempt to deprive a Subject of his *Birthright*, if Words have not loſt their wonted Meaning. Beſides, have Miniſters no Title to Character, to Reputation, to Credit, with their fellow Subjects, or to Fame with Poſterity; and if they have, ſhall the taking

all

all theſe away be eſteemed no Puniſhment? A Man's good Name ought to be dearer to him than his Life; and I dare ſay, that many Gentlemen, who concurred with that Motion, will freely confeſs, that they had rather die than fall under ſuch a Cenſure as this, and yet, they ſay, this is no Puniſhment! But farther ſtill, did not the ſame People tell us, that this Point once carried, we ſhould come at Evidence which would enable us to go much farther; ſo that this was to lead us to a Power of puniſhing, perhaps, in the higheſt Degree, and in the Interim, was to lay the Perſon aimed at open to publick Odium; yet it was no Puniſhment! It did not affect Life or Limb, as a Gentlemen ſaid, but it affected not only the Honour of a Perſon in a very high Station, but that alſo of two Parliaments, and of his Maſter; and yet the Thing that was to have theſe great Effects, was no Puniſhment, and therefore needed no Evidence. If, indeed, the *Tories* could have ſatisfied themſelves with this, they might have concurred with their Friends, and pretended to have kept their Principles.——— But the Point is, how many of the prudent Part of Mankind now, or how far Poſterity in general would have credited

theſe Pretences? —— A Queſtion, but too eaſy to be anſwered.

The *Tories*, as a Party, have hitherto maintained a tolerable Reputation in point of Sincerity; they have ſometimes been charged with Haſtineſs, ſometimes with Obſtinacy, but I do not remember that even their greateſt Enemies have, at any Time, charged them with Diſſimulation. But they muſt have been guilty of this in the higheſt Degree, if they had pretended to act from Principle in ſuch a Proceeding as this, and alledged, in Defence of it, ſo trifling a Diſtinction as that between a Cenſure and an Impeachment. As Things ſtand at preſent, the Subject is pretty well ſecured againſt any ſudden Starts of Vengeance, in any of the Branches of the Legiſlature. The Repeal of the Earl of *Strafford*'s Attainder hath ſet a juſt Mark of Ignominy on ſuch harſh and haſty Proceedings, and on every Step which muſt be taken, in order to bring them about. The acknowledged Right of every hereditary Member of the Houſe of Lords to be tried by his Peers, without Exception, prevents any Nobleman from falling under the like Neceſſity, with that which befel the Earl of *Clarendon*, who was glad to go into Exile, to ſave his Country the Shame of his Murder. But to what

Purpoſe

Purpoſe have theſe Fences been raiſed, if it is in the Power of angry Men, at any Time, to pull them down? It is true, this Motion would have taken but a Stake or two out of the Hedge, but even that Gap would have been fatal, and therefore it argues both Wiſdom and Courage, Penetration as well as Probity, in thoſe who would not ſuffer an over-weaning Fondneſs for their own Opinions, or the warm, eager Sollicitations of their angry Friends, to hurry them beyond the Bounds of Reaſon and Juſtice. ——Their Inclinations carried them, *uſque ad Aras*——but there they ſtopped.

Here, indeed, I thought to have ſtopped myſelf, but having heard it reported, that the beſt Friends of a late Motion never thought it would be carried, and that they made it only with a View to the *approaching Election*, I think myſelf obliged to go a little farther, in order to conſider that Point. I muſt however confeſs, that this Report has no great Credit with me. It has no Sort of Connection with the ſanguine Hopes, which ſome Gentlemen diſcovered a little before that extraordinary Scheme took Place. It ſeems not to tally very well with the Arguments uſed in Favour of that Meaſure; in ſhort, it ſeems rather to be an After-game, invented to ſerve ſome Purpoſe,

and to inſpire ſome People with an Opinion, that notwithſtanding what has happened, our Modern Patriots are very deep Politicians. —— For my part, I always thought ſo, and I think ſo ſtill; though I muſt admit, that this Meaſure is very far from being one Reaſon for my entertaining that Opinion: Quite the contrary, I am fully perſwaded that if they had foreſeen it's Conſequences, our Patriots would never have made this Motion at all. But now it has been made and miſcarried, it is fit that ſomething, nay, that many Things ſhould be ſaid —— and this amongſt the reſt.

The Election of a new Parliament is always a Matter of the higheſt Importance to the People of *Great-Britain*; it is then the great Prerogative they poſſeſs as Freemen returns into their Hands, and it is put into their Power to ſhew their Approbation or their Reſentment of the Conduct of their Repreſentatives during the foregoing Parliament. It is no wonder therefore that at ſuch a time Factions ſhould do their utmoſt to give ſuch Colours to their Deſigns as may beſt ſerve to lead the Opinion of their Countrymen, and conſequently determine their Choice in favour of Candidates of their Stamp. However, it

is

is by no means uſual for Men to declare they act with a View to Elections; and therefore I can ſcarce apprehend the Report, I have before mentioned, to be well grounded; becauſe it ſeems to me a thing unworthy of true Patriots, to avow an Intention to influence Electors in any Manner whatſoever. At leaſt this is my Notion of the Matter, for to me all kinds of Influence are alike; becauſe they are apparently Invaſions of that Liberty which ought to be allowed every Man in the Choice of his Repreſentative, who is ſuch only in Right of his being freely choſen. Men may be as well deceived by Promiſes as by Premiums; but when they are left entirely to their own Election, they cannot be deceived, though it is not impoſſible they may be miſtaken; and yet even this Evil will happen but rarely, and when it does ſo it muſt be borne with; becauſe no Remedy can be applied, which will not introduce ſome Miſchief that is much greater.

I inſiſt upon this the rather, becauſe of late great Pains has been taken to make People believe that Influence can only come from a certain Quarter, and in the Shape of Profit: This however is no certain Truth. A Man who gives one falſe

Ideas

Ideas of Things, and of his own Conduct in reſpect to them, and thereby carries an Election, employs as great a Degree of undue Influence, as he who acquires an Office of the like Nature, by an indirect Application of another kind. Mens Underſtandings may be captivated as well as their Minds corrupted, and therefore that Candidate is, generally ſpeaking, the moſt worthy of being choſen, who is leaſt forward in his Application; and, will, in the end, be found moſt ready to aſſiſt his Country in general, or the Place he ſerves for in particular. Such as betray in theſe Applications an unuſual Warmth, ſeem to diſcover their having ſome ſecret Purpoſes, whereas the Man who aims purely at the Service of his Country, though he may be very aſſiduous, yet ſhews no Signs either of Anxiety or Apprehenſion.

The People in general, I mean ſuch as have Votes in all Elections, are much better Judges of Perſons than of Things; and if they were left to themſelves, and had no Applications made to them from any Quarter, they would undoubtedly conſider not the Parties, but the Perſonal Qualifications and general Character of thoſe they intruſted as their Repreſentatives. An honeſt ſenſible Man is a proper Member for any Place,

Place, and ſuch the People in all Places would look out, without trouble to themſelves, or Expence to their Members, if there was no interfering in this Matter at all. Such Men ſo ſent up to Parliament would be a true and proper Repreſentative of their Country; in them, as in a Mirrour, might be diſcerned the real Temper, the true Complexion, of their Conſtituents. Theſe Men would give the Crown no unneceſſary Trouble, nor would they ſuffer the Commons to be loaded with any unneceſſary Expence. All the Arts of Management would be needleſs, becauſe an upright Adminiſtration might do any thing; and if a Miniſtry of another Stamp ſhould attempt ſuch Practices, they would prove fruitleſs; for ſuch a Body of Men would not be managed. In ſhort, a free Choice is eſſentially neceſſary, to what all honeſt Men moſt earneſtly wiſh, a free Parliament; ſince there is the higheſt Probability that the People in general would go right, if no intriguing Heads were ſet on Work to lead them wrong.

Every Body knows that heretofore Members received Wages, from thoſe they repreſented, which was a thing reaſonable in itſelf, and had many good Conſequences attending it, which are little adverted to.

Firſt,

Firſt, it ſecured the Freedom of Elections; for when the People were to pay their Members, they were ſure to chuſe none, but ſuch as they thought would deſerve their Wages. Secondly, it obliged their Repreſentatives to give a ſtrict Attention to the Affairs of the Places for which they were choſen; and if they failed in this, the People had an evident Right to put them in Mind of their Duty, and to call upon them, to obtain a Redreſs of any Grievances under which they laboured, or to procure them any legal Advantages, of which they ſtood in Need. Thirdly, it occaſioned a great Livelineſs and Vigour in Parliamentary Proceedings, Seſſions were not ſpun out in factious Debates, wherein the beſt Speakers, whether they are or are not the beſt Men, make by much the greateſt Figure; but the Buſineſs of the Publick was done, the Expectations of the People anſwered, the Members returned again into their Countries, and their Wages ceaſed. So that as the Meeting of the Parliament gave the People hopes, on Account of the Buſineſs that was done there, ſo the Concluſion of a Parliament was likewiſe ſatisfactory, becauſe it eaſed them of a very ſenſible Expence.

If any one ſhould ſay, in anſwer to this, that the Cuſtom I ſpeak of is long ago grown into Diſuſe, and that it would be neither prudent nor practicable to attempt the reviving it, I would not enter into any Diſpute with them on that Head, but would content myſelf with deſiring them to conſider, how it grew into Diſuſe. For this, I think, two Cauſes may be aſſigned; the one, that Wages remaining ſettled, according to the antient ſtandard, by the Alteration of the Nation's Circumſtances, they came to be inconſiderable, and ſcarce worth demanding. But this might have been eaſily helped by Authority of Parliament, and, perhaps, a better Meaſure than helping it could not have been thought of: It is certainly a bad Thing to let a good Cuſtom be loſt. The ſecond Cauſe was, that Gentlemen began to find their Account in ſerving in Parliament without Wages, and this was the eſſential Cauſe why this Practice came to be entirely diſuſed. From this fair and natural Account of the Matter, it muſt be clear to every Man of Penetration, that the People were great Loſers by their being eaſed of this Expence; and that a Thing ſo ſeemingly inconſiderable has had very bad Effects, though not diſcernable to every Eye. When Men ſerved for the Ho-

nour of ſerving, they began to think themſelves more independent, and, by Degrees, from acting according to the Conſtitution, they framed Deſigns of altering it; which, whatever their Intentions were, certainly never did, nor ever can, produce the People any Good. Add to this, the Heats and Diſorders, which an unwarrantable Zeal for religious Opinions brought in amongſt us, and we ſee, in one View, the Sources of thoſe Diſturbances, which have happened among us ſince the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, and from which, at this Day, we are very far from being free.

The Riſe of ſo many little particular Intereſts introduced a Multitude of Parties, and proved the Bane of true Patriotiſm. Men began to make their Court to the People, not by mending the Intereſt of the the Publick, but by ſupporting whatever Set of Notions was become popular; and theſe Principles and Practices giving great Diſturbance to the Court, new Miſchiefs aroſe from thence, bad Miniſters found it an eaſy Matter to perſwade their Maſters, that they had Intereſts ſeparate from thoſe of the People; and the beſt Miniſters found it a very difficult Matter to pleaſe the People in general, even when they acted upon no other Principle than that of publick Spirit.

Spirit. There cannot be a ſtronger Inſtance of this than the Treatment the Earl of *Clarendon* met with, even from thoſe for whom he ſacrificed himſelf. Without Queſtion he was ruined for his Firmneſs to the Conſtitution in Church and State, that is for his Zeal for the People's Freedom and the Proteſtant Religion: And yet Mr *Baxter*, who was neither a weak nor a wicked Man, publiſhed it in print, that the Earl fell into Diſgrace, through the juſt Judgment of God, for perſecuting his People, that is the Nonconformiſts. To ſuch a Height can religious and political Enthuſiaſm inflame the Spirits, even of honeſt and well-meaning Men, and ſo difficult a thing it is, even for the ableſt and mildeſt, and beſt intentioned Miniſtry to eſcape Cenſure, while the Minds of Men are agitated by Diſputes which they think of Importance, but which are certainly of far leſs Conſideration than the national Intereſt and publick Peace.

It is certainly true that, of late Years, the Nation hath been pretty free from religious Diſturbances; and this ought to be conſidered as a great Bleſſing, ſince Experience ſhews us, that nothing is ſo capable of imbittering the Minds of Men, and inflaming them againſt each other, as that

which ought to inſpire with contrary Sentiments, and incline them for Conſcience Sake to ſtudy Peace. But perhaps this good Effect has been in ſome Meaſure, nay, I believe I ſhould not err if I ſaid, in a great Meaſure, owing to a very bad Cauſe. I mean the too great Attention of Men to their temporal Concerns, and their living and acting as if they had no Hopes, no Views, but for this Life. This has produced a Variety of civil Diſputes, and a Multitude of political Projects, advantageous enough for private Perſons; but extremely detrimental to the Publick. In the midſt of the higheſt and warmeſt Declarations of Patriotiſm from all Sides, we have ſeen Men of all Parties plunging into Practices of quite another Nature, manifeſting thereby the Falſity of their Pretences, and that their ſhew of publick Spirit was only put on to ſerve private Purpoſes. This, in a conſiderable Tract of Time, and by frequent and flagrant Repetitions, has had the very worſt of all Conſequences; it has brought Patriotiſm itſelf, the Nobleſt, the moſt Valuable of all civil Virtues, to be thought a Chimæra; and introduced that Corruption, of which ſerious Men are juſtly apprehenſive, as a thing portentive of the Ruin of our State. If, in theſe Days, a Man oppoſes Power in the

the mildeſt Terms, and with the moſt ſolemn Aſſurances of Duty to his Prince, he paſſes with the Many for a *Jacobite*, and for a Hypocrite with the Few. On the other Hand, if a Miniſter, or any of his Friends, propoſe any Scheme for publick Advantage, and declare they do it with the the moſt diſintereſted View that can be, they are generally diſbelieved, and the thing is immediately repreſented, as dangerous to the People, and deſtructive of Liberty. Thus one Side expoſes the other, till both are rendered ſuſpected, and the Groſs of the People are ready to cry out of Stateſmen and Anti-Stateſmen, *Whigs* and *Tories*, Patriots and Politicians, that *there is none that does good, no, not one*; and if this be our Sentiments at home, what Opinion muſt be entertained of us abroad!

If this was really true, I can ſee no good that would reſult to us from perpetually publiſhing our Shame, when we ought rather to be ſtudying how to wipe it off. But I am far from believing this is the Caſe, for though there may be, and doubtleſs there are, a Multitude of baſe and profligate Perſons amongſt us, who have no Bowels for their Country, no Thoughts, no Views but for themſelves; yet it is not to be thought there are no Men of true Virtue left

left in theſe Nations; the contrary is evident, there are many amongſt all Parties, but that the Heat and Clamour of Fools and Knaves keeps the Nation in a Ferment, and hinders ſuch Perſons, who are naturally ſober and ſilent, from being known and conſidered as they ought. We are at preſent no better than a vaſt Mob, drawn together we know not how or why, and dinned with the perpetual Harrangues of unwearied and unmeaning Speakers. This Journaliſt tells us one thing, that Evening Writer another, then come a Shoal of Pamphlets big with new Syſtems, new Charges, new Projects of Peace, or new Propoſals for carrying on the War: In ſuch a Hurry, in ſuch a Confuſion, how is it poſſible that the People ſhould diſcern their true Intereſt, or diſtinguiſh their real Friends? The only way to do this, is to impoſe Silence upon all Parties, not by any Law for reſtraining the Liberty of Speech or the Freedom of the Preſs, that would but increaſe the Tumult and augment the Confuſion; but by doing what is in the Power of the People, and in no Body's Power but theirs, diſcountenancing all declamatory Applications, and reſolving to proceed in ſo important an Affair, with that Caution and Sobriety, which it becomes Men to ſhew, who have their Country's

Concerns

Concerns at Heart. If the Commons of *Great-Britain* would but become ſenſible of their own Power and Dignity, they would quickly check the Rage of Factions, and encourage Men of ſound Principles, and true Fortitude, to offer them their Service. But, while we continue in our preſent giddy State, reſtleſs, raving and railing, we may afford frequent Opportunities to artful Men of deceiving; but we ſhall at the ſame Time effectually fright the worthieſt Men amongſt us from all publick Employments, which is the worſt and greateſt Miſchief that can befal any free People; becauſe, it is the ſingle Miſchief by which they can be undone, or rather by which they may be made to undo themſelves.

It is very eaſy to foreſee the only plauſible Objection which can be made to this Propoſal, and which certainly will be made, by ſuch as are ſure to ſuffer from its taking Effect: Theſe will ſay, that whatever may be pretended, this is no more than a fallacious Scheme for lulling the People aſleep till the Chains, which have been ſo long forging for them, be fixed and rivetted. That at ſuch a Critical Juncture as this, Men ought to be put upon their Guard, have the Dangers to which they are expoſed fairly told them,

and

and their Enemies freely pointed out. That Moderation is a Virtue only as it is circumſtanced, and that where Vigour and Reſentment are neceſſary, he who pleads for Moderation oppoſes Juſtice, and by an ill timed tenderneſs for the publick Quiet, prevents ſuch Severities as are neceſſary for the Publick Good. In ſhort, that as there are certain Seaſons for all Things, ſo the preſent is ſuited rather to quick and ſharp, than to ſlow and mild Methods, which Experience ſhews have been too long truſted to already. This, I ſay, is the only Objection that can be offered; and, I think it cannot be denied, that I have put it in the faireſt and the fulleſt Light.

In anſwer to this, I ſay, that how ſpecious ſoever theſe Reaſonings may appear, they have in truth no ſolid Foundation. The People, in their Collective Capacity, can take no Meaſures whatſoever for promoting right Councils, for examining the Effects of ſuch as were wrong, or for puniſhing Offenders; all this is to be effected by a free Parliament, that is, by a Parliament which is the true Repreſentative of thoſe for whom they ſerve; and this therefore is the ſingle Point to which the People ought to attend. All the other Points are to be ſubmitted to the Conſideration of that Parliament,

liament, and therefore, it is as prepoſterous to talk of canvaſſing theſe Points, in order to the Election, as it would be to enter into the Merits of a Cauſe before a Maſter, when the Parties are before him, in order to the ſtriking of a Jury. In both Caſes, it is the Credit of the Men which ought to be attended to, becauſe on their Judgment the Deciſion of theſe Points muſt depend. In recommending therefore Peace and Moderation, when a thing of ſuch mighty Conſequence is upon the Anvil, I certainly purſue the Intereſt of no Party whatſoever, and leaſt of all that, of which Men ſeem to be moſt afraid. But, as I hate all dubious Expreſſions, and as on this Occaſion, I think, it would be unnatural for a Man to ſpeak one thing and mean another; I ſhall readily explain, what I juſt now inſinuated, and ſhew that this is the only Antidote which can expel Corruption, and when I ſhall have done this, I ſuppoſe, the Objection will be fully anſwered.

While ſuch exceſſive Pains are taken by Men, of all Parties, to prepoſſeſs the Minds of the Electors in favour of themſelves and their Deſigns, while ſuch as pretend to the higheſt Degree of Purity in their In-

tentions, openly avow their taking certain Meaſures, with a View to influence Elections; ſuch a Gap is made in our Conſtitution, as ſeems not only to allow, but to invite all kinds of Influence whatever. It has been already obſerved, that the general Out-cry of Parties againſt each other, whatever thoſe who compoſe them imagine, does, in Reality, prove nothing, or rather proves too much, by proving that they are all in the Wrong. This being the Caſe, Sollicitations on one Side warrant Sollicitations on the other, and thoſe who exclaim againſt undue Influence, actually provoke and induce it, by attempting to influence themſelves. If all Parties appeal to the People, then all Parties ought to forbear influencing the People; but if after ſo ſolemn an Appeal, any Party begins to exert its Intereſt amongſt them by careſſing and cajoling, this opens the Way to all the reſt, and Men of honeſt and diſintereſted Principles loſe all their Hopes at once. For where all kinds of Application are made, where the Influences of all the Parties amongſt us are exerted, how can we call ſuch a Choice free?

But,

But, if the buſy Men amongſt us could be perſwaded to be quiet but for a ſmall Seaſon, and leave the People entirely to themſelves, that Corruption which they ſo much fear could never take Place: If other Parties did not intermeddle, any Influence from the Adminiſtration would be direct and viſible, whereas, in the Confuſion of Party Applications, it is effectually covered. In ſuch Heats and Struggles, all Influences are blended, and thoſe which otherwiſe would be thought the moſt ſcandalous, come to be repreſented as neceſſary. The Conſequence of any Set of Men, declaring openly againſt the Government, is of all things the moſt favourable to the Deſigns of the Government be they what they will, becauſe it affords an Opportunity of mingling in the Croud, and of doing a Multitude of Things from a Principle of Self-Preſervation, which could be ſanctified no other Way. Plauſible Pretences will eaſily be found by all Parties, and when they are managed with Dexterity, the People's Minds muſt neceſſarily be confounded. Whereas, if a Calm could be procured, they would ſoon detach themſelves from all ſuch Conſiderations, and look out for

honeſt Men, on whoſe Judgments they might depend. Thus this Objection appears to be made too early, for the Queſtion now under Debate is not how the new Parliament ought to act, but how the People ought to act in the Choice of a new Parliament.

If theſe plain and free Obſervations ſhould diſpleaſe any Party, or, which is more to be apprehended, ſhould provoke the warm Men of all Parties, it will be no more than the Author expects; but if, at the ſame Time, they are ſo happy as to excite true Patriots to ſhew their Concern for their Country, by promoting Peace and Quietneſs, and diſcouraging all Kinds of Influence, his End will be effectually anſwered, and he ſhall think himſelf extremely happy, under any ill Uſage he may meet with, from ſuch as are declared Enemies to Peace and Unanimity. He the rather recommends theſe Reflections to the ſerious Conſideration of the *Tories*, as being built upon their avowed Principles; Principles which oblige them to prefer the Security of the Conſtitution to the Purſuit of any Party Point, as well as to the Safety of any particular Perſon whatſoever. Their late Conduct muſt certainly

certainly have raiſed their Reputation with all who have a true Senſe of Honour, Juſtice, and Impartiality; and it is heartily to be wiſhed, that the ſame Temper, the ſame Steadineſs, the ſame Reſpect for the Publick, may appear in their Conduct, on the approaching Election, which was ſhewn on that Occaſion, and then we need not doubt but their Repreſentatives will be ſuch as, in the Proſecution of their Country's Intereſt, will neither heed the Favour of the Great who are in, nor the undeſerved Flirts of the Angry, who are out of Power.

We have too long, as a Nation, ſported with Affairs of the moſt ſerious Nature, and ſuffered ourſelves to be amuſed and diverted with Diſputes about Things, which to us were of the laſt Importance; but by this Time it is to be hoped, our Eyes are pretty well opened, and we diſcern the Folly of becoming well pleaſed Spectators of political Combats, where, whoever gets the better, we are ſure to bear the whole Expence. On the Choice of a new Parliament depends the Settlement of our Trade and Navigation, and the Safety of *Europe*. While ſuch important Things are at Stake, we cannot, ſure, think it adviſeable to confine our Enquiries

quiries concerning Candidates, to their being for this, or for the other Set of Peoples enjoying Poſts: No; the Point is to find out honeſt and able Men, who will ſupport the Credit of the Nation, and adhere firmly to the Conſtitution, without ſuffering themſelves to be led aſtray by Places, or diverted from the Service of the Publick, by private Prejudices againſt ſuch as have the executive Part of the Government in their Hands. The preſent Seaſon calls for Advice and for Action, not for Projects or Harrangues, and therefore we ſtand not in need of Demagogues but Counſellors.

Laſtly, let us ſhew ourſelves entirely uninfluenced in our Choice, by paying Reſpect to the Merit only, and not the Nomination of Candidates, come it from whom or whence it will. It ſeems to be a Thing incompatible with Liberty, for a handful of Men in any County, City, or Borough, to preſcribe to the reſt of the Electors whom they ſhall chuſe, and, in a Manner, to limit even the Number of Candidates; whereas every Man, who has a legal Qualification, is capable of being elected, and there can be nothing more reaſonable than that, till the

the very Time of making their Choice, the Thoughts of Electors ſhould be free. We have many good Laws for regulating and preſerving the Freedom of Elections; but to render theſe effectual, we muſt reſolve with ourſelves to admit of no Preſcriptions; he only is a true Friend to Liberty, who profeſſes this Doctrine; whoever would inſinuate the contrary, would only determine us in our *Choice* of *Chains*, which, ſurely, is below, or rather unworthy, the Care of *Thoſe* who may be *Free*.

F I N I S.

BRITISH MUSEUM